SOME NEW BOOKS.

The Principles of American Federal Liberty. In the summer of 1865, when the trial of Mr. Jefferson Davis and other Confederate shiefs was contemplated, a weighty protest against such action was sent from London in the form of a brief purporting to emanate from P. C. CENTZ, Barriater. The paper was forwarded to many conspicuous men in and out of the Administration, and was regarded as prosenting a powerful argument against the propricty of trying the Confederate prisoners by a military commission (the contention being that they were protected by the jus gentions), and also against the probability of conviction should they be tried in a civil court. Of course, the writer's plea turned on the question of the right of secession, and he evinced such a profound acquaintance with the history and philesophy of the Constitution, that a publication of his argument has repeatedly been surposted. The present volume which is an expansion of the essay written sixteen years ago will take rank as the most exhaustive and anthorizative discussion on the subject. A fourth and enlarged edition is now published by Little, Brown & Co., under the title of The

Remablic of Republics. In chapter vit, of part first, bearing the subthie of "The Architect's Idea of the Edifice," we have an exposition of what the fathers considered, and the people intended, our pointy to be. In this inquiry, which is concerned with fact, not opinion, great care has been taken to select the best testimony. For such proofs the author ans recourse to the statements of the deputies who devised and the people who sustained the Constitution, rather than to the dieta of subsequent administering agents, who became interested in its success and in their own jurther emoluments, and who began these assumptions of ungranted powers which may one day prove latal. Thus the views of Hamilton, of Madison. and even of Washington are not used where opinions were expressed by them as officials personally concerned in the effective working of a great experiment. On the other hand, Jefferson is not cited, because, being abroad when the Constitution was framing, he did not participate in the making of the plan, and because upon its being put into operation he gradually became a heated partisan in his attitude of hostility. So, too, Martin, Lowndes, Yates, Lansing, and Patrick Henry are rejected because they denounced the projected federal system with indiscriminate bitterness. In short, no facts or authorities originating after the federal machinery was set in motion are used in the affirmative or constructive portion of this book. The entire draught is from the headspring-not a drop from the turbid river below. In some chapters devoted to criticism, however, the well-known arguments of Webster and Calhoun are closely scrutinized, and the conclusion is reached that neither disputant knew the facts of the case.

Those who at present advocate the so-called "national" view of the Constitution seldom do more than echo the assertions of Dane, Story, and Webster, all of which may be found concisely stated in the latter's famous speech of 1833. Mr. Webster asserted that "contemporary history," among whose documents he allowed the "Federalist" the highest place, and "the debates in the conventions of States," all agreed that "a change had been made from a confederacy of States to a different system; that the Constitution was made by "the people of the United States in the aggregate;" that therein the said people or nation "distributed their powers between their general Governments and their several State Governments;" that this was their "supreme law," and that by it "State sovereignty was effectually con-These are assertions of ta t, and of course must be either true or false. The auther of this book undertakes to prove them entirely and absurdly untrue, and to this end he cites, first, the statements of Hamilton, Mulison, Jay, Washington, and Franklin, whom he deems the weightiest witnesses so long as their utterances were not discredited by personal interest in the successful working of the Constitution. It is shown, for instance, that Hamilton. in articles 2 and 85 of the "Federalist," avers. "If the new plan be adopted, the Union will still be in fact and in theory an association of again. " Every Constitution for the United States must inevitably consist of a great variety of particulars, in which thirteen independent States are to be accommodated in their interests, or opinions of interest. Hence the necessity of making such a system as will satisfy all the parties to the compact." James Madison declares in the "Federalist" (articles 39 and 40): " The States are regarded as distinct and independent sovereigns by the Constitution proposed, * * * Each State, in ratifying the Constitution, is considered as a sovereign body, independent of all others, and only to be bound by its own voluntary act. In this relation, then, the new Constitution will be a federal, and not a national Constitution." His speeches in the Virginia Convention (recorded in Elliot's Debates, III., 381) set forth the same views. In like manner we continuing united under one federal Government," and characterized the proposed compact es a "union of States." These citations from Hamilton, Madison, and Jay are made, it should be borne in mind, from writings published in 1788, when the States were in process of deciding whether to accept or to reject the projected confederation. There is equally positive and glandam proof that Washington recognized the States as severeign parties to, and severeign actors under, the new system. Writing to Gen. Pinceney, in June, 1788, he expresses the Hampshire had accoded to the new confed. The record of the Connecticut Convention powers between their general Covernment and " A year afterward he wrote to Cov. Franklin, he made his own view clear enough

own citizens." The next five witnesses, cited by the author of this book, in the course of his inquiry touch-Ing the intentions of the framers of the Constitution, are John Dickinson, Gouverneur Morris, James Wilson, Tench Coxe, and Samuel Adams. John Dickinson, who was at one time President of Delaware, and at another of Pennextensia, and who was a most influential memher of the Federal Convention, defles, to one of his letters, the new political system as a confederate of republics, in " which the sovereignty of each State is represented with equal suffrage in one legislative tody, the people of each State in another, and the sovereignties and people consciptly represented in a President." It was titurorneur Morris, we are reminded, who, as delegate from Pennsylvania in the Federal Convention, was intrusted with the rewriting of the Constitution. As it was he who manged the words adopted by the Convention. "We, the people of the States," to "We, the people of the United States," he must be sup, oved to know their meaning. Yet, instead of taxing the Websterian view, he declared years afterward that "the Constitution was a compact, not between individuals, but between timi societies, each enjoying sovereign and of Postarylvania, who was a member

Constitution, stated the object of the Convenion of 1787 to be to induce the States "to conederate anew on better principles;" and again, the business of the Convention comprehended the views and establishments of thirteen independent sovereignties." Tench Coxe of Pennsylvania, a leading statesman of the period, reforeing to the text of the preamble as rewritten by Mr. Morris, said that though the Federal Constitution was to be adopted by the people, "yet t was to be done in their capacities as citizens of the several members of our confederacy. Had the Federal Convention meant to exclude the idea of union, that is, of several and separate sovereignties joining in a confederacy, they would have said, 'We, the people of Amerien,' for union necessarily involves the idea of impotent States, which complete consolidation excludes." So, too, Samuel Adams, in the onvention of his State, declared that the amendment proposed by Massachusetts, "all powers not expressly delegated by the Constiution are reserved to the several States," was 'consonant with the second article of the present confederation, that each State retains its overeignty, freedom, and independence, and every power not expressly delegated to the United States." And he wrote to Elbridge Gerry that this amendment, whose adoption he urged, would be a line drawn as clearly as may be between the federal powers vested in Congress and the distinct sovereignty of the sev-

rights of the citizens depend. Ten more contemporary witnesses of great weight are summoned by the author of this inquiry. Here, for instance, is Roger Sherman, a member of the Federal Convention, as well as of the Connecticut Convention which ratified he federal compact. He declared that "the Government of the United States was instituted by a number of sovereign States for the better security of their rights and the advancement of their interests." Oliver Ellsworth, afterward Constitution does not attempt to coerce sovereign bodies-States in their political capacity. but only provides for legal coercion of individual citizens. John Marshall said, in the Virginia Convention, referring to the fear expressed by Henry and Mason, that" a State might be called at the bar of the Federal Court," and judicial coercion be attempted: "It is not rational to suppose that the sovereign power should be dragged before a court." James Iredell, a prominent statesman of North Carolina, declared that he thought the Federal Senate necessary to preserve completely the covereignty of the States." In the Massachusetts ratifying convention. Theophilus Parsons spoke to the same effect, averring that the Senate was designed "to preserve the sovereignty of the States." Christopher Gore, another Massachusetts statesman, maintained, on the same ension, that " the Senate represents the sovereignty of the States," and Fisher Ames said, The Senators represent the sovereignty of the States in the quality of ambassadors." George Cabot, another statesman of great influence in Massachusetts, said, in his argument for the Constitution, "The Senate is a representation of the sovereignty of the individual States."

The views of the architects of the Constitution are elsewhere in this volume set forth at much from an earlier chapter should suffice to impregnably demonstrate that State sovereignty is not a mere deduction made by Jefferson and others after the Federal compact was formed. but a great and indestructible fact recognized by all the fathers as essential and vital to each ommonwealth of the federalized States, and as an integral part of such States' being.

The writer examines in detail the proceedings of the thirteen State Conventions which sanctioned the Constitution, and shows that, in every case, the purpose of the majority of delegates was to federalize, and not nationalize, to Virginia's right to resume her delegated themselves, to make a federal and avoid a consolidating government, to preserve and not impair the sovereignty of the individual States. It will be found, indeed, that the acceptance of the instrument was well-nigh defeated by ters who give it and of whom the servants hold charges of a nationalizing tendency, identical | ii." There was not a man in the Virginia Conwith the doctrines subsequently put forth by Dane, Story, and Webster; but these charges consolidated government. "If the projected were at the time denounced and refuted in scheme," said Henry Lee of Westmareland. Debates, II., 304) that the States are the State Conventions by those who had "were a consolidated government, ought it in t casential component parts of the Union," and taken a conspicuous part in framing the to be ratified by a majority of the people as inpreamble. 'We, the people of the United by their adoption have mude it finding on all. The curves are more decided, and at the june- was universally used for pitcher, and that the professiont States into a nation. It is clear ment," The arguments of the Constitutional- is a delicately raised outline which marks the retail tradesman. "Pidy" means not neat, but

other leading men had remained under this same purpose. spurned with unanimity. But if there were | was unrelimant, but in South Carolina the new | among Americans. Mr. White points out that any secret partisans of what was afterward to system was strongly opposed, especially by be known as the rational or Websterian liew in | Lawlins Lownles, who desired his epiliph to the Massachusetts Convention, not one vantured | 64, " Here lies the man that with shood the Con- | of the Luglish type is in the heaviness of the to avow it, and the ratification was coupled with stitution because it was ruinous to the liberties articulations. Frump arms are not uncommon. an amendment which expressed the sense of | of America." Dat he, Fatrick Henry, and the whole body and declared that "all powers | Luther Martin really discern in the specious | are still rarer. It is said, even in England, that not expressly delegated to Congress are re- text of the federal compact the defects and the feet of American women are more benunful served to the several States, to be by them ex- | perils they denounced? Or did they drend the ereised." Yet even with this amendment and eneroaching propensities of the Northern in the face of the most explicit assurances that | people, and foresee the perversions of their | United States, and they generally look smaller, | forest from " is in general vogue. no fusion of the States into a nation was contemplated, the Constitution was ratified by the | Lownder's opposition was overborne in South very small majority of nineteen in a total of 355 | Carolina by the Pinckneys, Butledges, Pierce | walk more, and because of their molater chvotes, the firm and formidable minority still | Butler, Pringle, and others on grounds identivaguely fearing that the instrument might be | cal with these on which the Constitutionalisis | beauty, either in the feet or in any other part susceptible of the very meaning which Done, In other States based their arguments. Charles of the body, Story and Webster afterward put upon it. Had Prockney described the new system as "a fedthe Websterian dormas been propounded in the Massachusetts Convention, there is no reason to believe that a single member would have superior." He know nothing about the Websterian dormas been propounded in the Massachusetts Convention, there is no reason to believe that a single member would have superior." He know nothing about the Websterian dormas been propounded in the Massachusetts Convention, there is no reason to believe that a single member would have superior." He know nothing about the Websterian dormas been propounded in the Massachusetts Convention, there is no reason to believe that a single member would have superior." He know nothing about the Websterian dormas been propounded in the Massachusetts Convention, there is no reason to believe that a single member would have superior."

Johnston of North Carollan about "the poilts | relating the hypothesia of a consolidation of | this theory been heard of by Gen. C. C. Pinckteal relation which is to substate the states the States, and attesting an anxious wish to two afterward the Federal party's candidate two at the State of North Carolina and the States preserve their integrity and sovereignts. It for Vice-President, who said, in the Federal now in union." He had written in 1788 to was a Connecticut states man, Oliver Edgworth, | Convention, when it was proposed to allow Madison of the time when " the Stat's neging; who had moved in the Federal Convention to this on the importation of blacks, that it would act under the new form," and, in the same expange the word "national" from the Con- to unjust "to require South Carolina and rear, to Gen. Lincoin that "who were hould be structed and substitute the words" Govern-found to enjoy the confidence of the Subsection and substitute the words "Govern-found to enjoy the confidence of the Subsection and substitute the words "Govern-The New Hampshire Convention, called to are as to be exercised to him. There is nothing in such Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in adopted the Constitution by a very less to account in a very less to acc by advocating, in the Convention of 1787, the full turning principally on the existence or the fashion he followed half a century later, the zetablishment of a second branch of the Tel. | non-existence in the Constitution of the very | proposed our federacy would have been promptsral Congress (the present Senarc) wherein principles subsequently affirmed by Webster is repudented. In those days no son of New "each State should have equal suffraged" in and the expounders of the so-called Massa- Parashire dared to advocate such ideas; there dividual States and their nuthority over their gates. Notes and Laneing, had left the Foderal | to defeat the schome, and they well night accomto have in view the consolidation of the United | in favor of rejection, of New York. The charges of Yares and Lansing unrelated, would have been fatal; and in effor: to refute them the advectors of the Constitution protested that the binter were to be o "exacutial component parts of the Union In the ratifying convention, Mr. Juy called the colonies," but "a union of States," All the arguments of the Constitutionalists. however, would have been futile but for the understanding that the much-dreaded dan-

> a revision could have prevailed on a sufficient number to ratify it." It was William Patterson of New Jersey, an

and of the State Convention which ratified the troduced the plan of the new system known as the New Jersey plan. He and his colleagues, with the delegates from Connecticut, Delaware, and other minor States, insisted on the strict principles of federation being observed, and secured the adoption of their views by the Federal Convention. The advocacy of William Patterson, whose opposition to the Nationalists was so notorious, caused the Federal compact to be unanimously ratified by the Convention of New Jersey. In Pennsylvania, on the other hand, the Constitution was ratified by a vote of but 46 to 23, and only after a month's debate. Questhird of the members of the Convention issued an eloquent address to the effect that consolidation pervades the whole instrument." In his defence of the Constitution, Wilson, who was a member both of the Federal and State Conventions, is far from giving any support to the idea of Story and Webster, that the people of the thirteen States in their aggregate capacity established a national government. He describes the federal compact as "a convention by which several States agree to become members of a larger one which they agree to establish. It is a kind of assemblage of socicties which constitute a new one capable of increasing by means of further association. In a word, the notions of Dane, Story, and Webster, which then appeared in the guise of charges brought by enemies, were repudiated by the friends of the Constitution in the Convention of Pennsylvania, as they were in the Convention of Massachusetts, eral States upon which the private and personal One of the most elaborate and instructive argu-

ments against the adoption of the Federal Con-

stitution was made by Luther Martin of Maryland. He was the Attorney-General of that State and a member of both the Federal and State Conventions. His objections to the compact were mainly such as Mr. Webster reproduced under the form of expositions. Mr. Martin feared turking causes of danger in various provisions of the federal bond which, in later years, might emerge to destroy liberty, and he would, he Chief Justice of the United States, spoke of the | said, "make any personal sacrifice if he could Union as a "confederation," and said, "The | prevail upon his State to reject the chains which are forged for it." The Maryland Convention could not believe that the chains he inveighed against existed in a constitution sanctioned by so many vehement partisans of State rights. It is a curious fact that the unfounded charges brought forward by Luther Martin, Patrick Henry, and others seem to have furnished the very materials from which in later years the sophistical "chains" were forged by Webster and others. In Virginia the Constitution was rati-fied by a vote of only 80 to 79. Here, as elsewhere, the scheme was attacked through the fear that it was pregnant with consolidation. Patrick Henry, George Mason, and others assailed the very clauses as dangerous and treasonable to State government from which Story and Webster have since deduced the dogma of national sovereignty. They attacked, for instance, the phrase in the preamble, "we, the people of the United States, do ordain." Ac., as reducing States to subordination: the clause making the Constitution Congressional laws and treaties, the supreme law of the land;" and the clause conferring certain powers over the militia. Not a man in the Virginia Convention dared to avow the justice of these charges; on the contrary, they were denounced as flagrant misrepresentations by Madison, Randolph, Pendleton, Marshall, and others. James Innes, an greater length. But the extracts here cited able jurist, advocating the adoption of the Constitution, evidently supposed that it could be abandoned by any party to the compact, if it failed to work well on trial. " Eight States," he said in the Convention, " have exercised their govereignty in ratifying it. Let us try it; experiones is the test test." And John Marshall said, on the same occasion, "The Federal Gov-ernment will not be supported by force, but will depend upon our free will. shall show us may inconvenience, we can correct it. Let us try it, and keep our hands free to change it if necessary." that these who give may take away. It is the people that give power and can take it back. What shall restrain them? They are the mas vention who avowedly favored a national or organic law. In the ratifying convention | dividuals and not as States? Suppose Virginia, | white beauty of feature is rarer in England Massachusetts, for example, the op- Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Fennsylvania than in this country, it is sometimes found bie, and "nasty" for unpleasant, in such position to the Constitution was mainly and ratified it; these four States, comprehend- more clearly defined. The mouth, in particular phrases as "a masty speech," "a masty day, based upon the ground that the phrase in the | ing a majority of the teople of America, would | ular, when it is beautiful, is more statusague. States," threatened the transmutation of the the States had this been a consolidated govern- tion of the lips with the white there word "merchant" was applied to the smallest from the debates that if Samuel Adams and ists in the Virginia Convention were all to the form of the feature in a very noble way. On good of its kind. Thus a pretty young woman

expounding statesmen? It is certain that

vention the contest was long over re, and dealts vention and excounded the Committee after chusants senoul. Two of the New York dele- upinared solar as accusations brought terward Convention because they were opposed to any | plished the purpose, So into as March, 1788, system, however circumscribed, which seemed | the New Hamishire Convention shood 51 to 50

States into one government. And as they feared | In North Carolina, as is well known, the Conthat the argument proposed by the Federal Con- stitution was rejected Aug. 1 Tion, by the overvention might have a tendency to that evil, they | whelming majority of 100 to 00, and it was not stroke to have it rejected in the State Convention | adopted until filteen months offerward, when the State was assured of satisfactory ungendments, which should demonstrate the absurdity. of the nationalizing or consolid ting theory. reserved introt, natous the words of Hamilton, | erated States (the Constitution, informing to its terms, went into operation when ratified by nine) joined in decaring that the Commonerstein provided for in the compact not "a | wealth of North Carolina retained as sovereign union of the people of the thirteen ty, and was at perfect liberty to resect the fedas limina or France. In view of this fact, the Websterian assertion that a suvereign nation of people existed, controlling the States intger would be averted by amendment. In the association, is obviously a sheer fiction. Wim. circular letter to the States, signed by Gov. B. Davie, one of the ablest statesmen of the George Chinton, by unanimous order of the South, declared, in the State Convention of Convention, it was stated that "several articles North Carolina, that "if there were wholesex, Mr. White would look for one reanothing but the fulless confidence of obtaining | might one day produce consciidation, it would, sir, with me be an insu-perable objection." And Samuel Johnston, who was at the same time Governor of the State

abridge the sacred rights of the States, I would not agree to it." Why did not Mr. Webster's great "we the people" nation, which so sovereignly distributed its powers between its local and its general Governments, assign to North Carolina her share, and compel her to take it? The facts in this case prove that North Carolina, considered as a State, rejected the proposed federal compact like a sovereign, and, in her own good time, accepted it like a sovcreign. The same truth is attested by the action of Rhode Island, which, in March, 1788, rejected the Constitution by a direct vote of her people, the vote being 2,708 to 232. Nor was it until two years afterward, when the amendments deemed necessary to secure State sovereignty were assured, that Rhode Island called a convention which, after due deliberation,

ratified the Constitution by the narrow majority of 34 to 32. As regards the right of secession, the author of this volume deems it indisputable, as simply commensurate with the power of contracting an alliance. He does not make the blunder of pronouncing it constitutional. It is not defined and affirmed in the federal compact, because it was taken for granted, or expressly stated in the State Conventious by the fathers, as a right indispensable to the preservation of statchood and liberty. It is a right not constitutional, but inherent and inalienable, a right absolute and indestructible as the State itself. Without it sovereignty cannot exist, and there can be no lasting maintenance of the original and only constituents of our "republic of republics."

It does not follow, because the writer assumes the right of States to secode, that he considers the late secessions justifiable on the higher plane of morality and international conduct. When he looks at the defences and remedies that were available within the Union, at the vast resources of diplomacy, at the influences always working in favor of justice and peace, and, above all, at the healing brought by the wings of time, be thinks the self-willed acts of the seceding States should be condemned, although he is inclined to blame, with even greater severity, the provocations that caused them. M. W. R.

An American's Observations of England. Since Hawthorne published his notes of travel and residence in England we have had no more thoughtful and interesting book on the same topic than is now offered us in the volume entitled England Without and William, by RICH-AED GEANT WHITE (Houghton, Miffin & Co). There is not the faintest flavor of the guide book in these reminiscences of a visit which Mr. White paid to England in 1876; there is ut little description of places and scenery, and the allusions to historical or literary associations are few. The author writes about men and women, their mode of life in town and country, their habits and manners. These are subjects on which we never tire of hearing coments on the part of a keen observer, and of course we have a double reason to be satisfied when, as happens to be the case with the book before us, a writer's observations are set forth

with unusual clearness and felicity. Mr. White thinks the English race well deserves the reputation it has enjoyed since the day of Gregory the Great of being the handsomest in the world. He has no doubt that among a thousand men and women of that race there will not only be found more "beauties" than among the same number of other races, but the majority will be handsomer, "finer, more symmetrically formed, better featured, with clearer skins and a more dignified bearing and presence, than the majority of any other European race with which they may be compared. Mr. White observed, however, that alugh the upper classes contained a fair proportion of large and well-formed men and women, yet the burly men, and big-bodied, sarge-simbed women were generally of the lower and lower middle class. The biggest men that Mr. White saw were from the north. Yorkshire and Northumberland. Those of the south, particularly in Kent, were the shortest, out as a Kent man told him, they are generally stocky." Our author assures us that the prottiest faces, most deliestely blooming complexons, and finest figures that he saw in England

were among the housemaids and shop girls. Mr. White has an interesting chapter on Eng-English and American female beauty are compared in some all. He is of opini in that. the other hand, the nose, the brow, and the set impression, the federal plan would have been | The accession of Georgia to the Constitution | and carriage of the heat are generally fluor for perfect proportion. A characteristic defect but really fine arms are rare, and fine wrists than these of English women. But this the writer doubts. The feet may be smaller in the because English women wear larger and heaver stices. They are obliged to do so because they mate. But of course more smallness is not

The complexion of English women has been greatly praises, but Mr. White did not find it the physical or represents of English women. ble. There is always, in short a rene around field it was "a beautiful manager" and to

her voice and way of speaking. Mr. White thinks that, in those respects and is not only without an equal, but beyond comparison with the women of any other people. The voices and the speech of English woman of all classes are: with few exceptions, pleasant to the ear, the words being well articulated, but not precisely pronounced. They speak without much amphasis, yet not monotonously, and with gentle modulation. Their speach is, therefore, very easily understead-much more so than that of persons who speak londer, and with stronger occusional stress. You rarely or never are obdited to sak an English woman to repeat what she has said because you have failed to cate; her words. This soft, yet eresp and clear and easily flowing speach, seems common to the live seeds in the Constitution which son of the hearts of the speech of English women in the voice itself. An English woman's voice is soft, but not weak. It is neither guttural nor masal, but notably firm, clear, and vibrating. But although the English woman's unflinching opponent of nationalism and con- and Preside t of the Convention said: "If I voice is strong as well as sweet, her speech is bear of me I overall Convention which framed. solidation, who is the Federal Convention in | thought anything in this Constitution lended to | low, the rarely raises ner voice; the writer of

thees notes does not remember having ever heard an English woman try to compel attention in that way. American women, on the other hand, frequently seem to be talking in Italies and accentuating every word as if they would thrust or hurl it into your cars. Mr. White sums up his discussion of this lateresting topic by affirming that, on the whole, women are more beautiful in America, but more levable in England; that in America they are better dressed, but in England better housekeepers and pleasanter companions.

Mr. White found the manners of English folk in most respects pleasing and admirable. He is careful to state, however, that by manners ha means not merely the attitu to, and the action and the speech which appear upon the surface of social intercourse, but the motive feel ing which underlies the surface. No doubt the English "manner," as distinguished from manners, lacks both warmth and grace, but you are powerfully impressed by a sense of the genuineness of English people. Warm or cold they may be, gracious or ungracious, but you see that they are sincere. If an Englishman meets you and gives you two fingers, it means only two fingers; if his whole hand grasps yours, you have his friendship. His speech is like his action. His social word is his social bond : you may trust him for all that it promises, and prob ably for more. The author's observation led him to confirm a statement of Miss Cobbe, that the genuine and self-sacrificing kindness of English gentlemen toward women affords almost a ludierous contrast to the florid politeness com patible with every degree of selfishness usually exhibited by men of other European nations.

The daily intercourse of families and friends in England is hearty and warm, although not effusive. They are not ready to give the hand to strangers, but very commonly all of a family, including the guests, shake hands on parting for the night, and on meeting in the morning the same greeting is hardly less common. Salutation is so universal, even between passing strangers in the country, and while travelling. that Mr. White was reminded of the manners of New England in his early boyhood. Men, on leaving a railway carriage, either first class or second class would say "Good morning," or Good evening." although they had exchanged hardly a word with you on the route. This habit seems to have come down from stagecoach times, and to have been preserved on the railway by the small carriages used in England. We are also reminded that the porter or guard who puts you into your carriage and hands you your bag, burried as he is, finds time to say 'Good morning, sir." If you are walking on a country road, those whom you meet salute you; the country folk, young and old, male and

female, do so always. Mr. White had frequently oceasion to notice how vigilantly the distinction between persons who are in trade and those who are not is maintained in England. This discrimination is perpetuated and deepened by court eliquette, whose rules American ladies would do well to examine before they accept the marriage proposals of British subjects. The author refers to a case in which an American young woman was married to a wealthy British merchant, and, going to England, lived very luxuriously, but as the wife of a British subject in trade, she could not go to court, whereas her unmarried sister, being simply a female citizen of the United States, was solemnly and triumphantly presented. An account was given lately in a London newspaper of an English lady who refused to engage a governess on discovering that she had lived in a family the head of which, Sir Bache Cunard, was in trade.

The reader will be surprised to learn that the worst English Mr. White ever heard spoken he heard in England, There, however, he also heard the best that could be spoken-not better. lowever, in his opinion, than is spoken in New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsyl vania. But he acknowledges that of this bost English he found much more among his British than among his American acquaintances in proportion to their numbers. Leaving out of consideration the dislect and folk phrases of remote rural districts, Mr. White tells us that h met with only one word absolutely new to him : this word was "singlet," in the sense of "undershirt," which was printed on his washing bill in Liverpool. Of familiar words, used in a someish women, in the course of which the types of | what poculiar sense, he encountered several For instance, he often found "ever" in composition thus: Whoever is it? it be?" "Firesome" is employed for disagreea-The writer of this book observed that "jug" would be called a "tidy giri," though she might be a sloven, and you might hear men speak of a "tidy day." "Do" is a word of all work, bein both countries the head is apt to be too large | ing noticed in such phrases as "I have got these flowers to do tto arrange ." "I can't do carve this beef," "I can't do (shut) this door," "Just is the most common place of general assent. "Fancy now" is a common expression of surprise, while a greater degree of surprise, dushed with protest, breaks forth in "Oh, I say!" Int. mediately" and "directly" are used for "when and "as soon as," and "different to" for "dif-

Mr. White observed the conversion of final ag into a to be notably common in England even among speakers of the highest classes. Dukes and dandies, members of Parliament, follows of colleges, farmers, and philologists say doin' bein', seein', and even "line" for lying. Educated men say know-ledge; and in words like institute, duke, and constitution, they are perticular in prencuncing the u as ere, much as a rustic Yankee would pronounce too. The pro-A delicate, finely graduated bloom is not com- nounciation of the bis of course an monistral-The record of the Connecticut Convention agrees precisely with that of Massachusetts in their several State timer quantum. Neither had his orn with the constitution of this theory been heard of by Gen. C. C. Pinck-conservation. Mr. White found currently against ends. You mon, and the wints is offener a tlike that of a lable mark of class distinct on in England. pull sollow of a quite as common as it may world-a sure protection against ends. You part of the Whole states with which have most a follow who is well dressed, and behaves quenched the research to was less struck by himself decently enough, and yet you don't know exactly what to renke of him; but get ha-

than by the solida rest about the armone suctions, but the arms and if he trips upon his his that settles The restable the content of the transfer of th found to enjoy the confidence of the bint a so the first of the United States, which was arrest for as to be elected Vice-Prosident" would be to without a disconting vote. The Convention adopted the Convention by a very the accept it, and adopted the Convention by a very the accept it, and adopted the Convention by a very the accept it, and adopted the Convention by a very the accept it, and adopted the Convention by a very the accept it, and adopted the Convention by a very the accept it, and adopted the Convention by a very the accept it, and adopted the Convention by a very the accept it. man's eyes, and specific to eyest and a sen of very appearant class and these breeding sound made by the people of the Canal States in the was secured out because the states are an analysis and interpretable for the Canal States are an analysis and supported by the people of the Canal States are an analysis and supported by the people of the Canal States are an analysis and supported by the people of the Canal States are an analysis and supported by the people of the Canal States are an analysis and supported by the people of the Canal States are an analysis and supported by the people of the Canal States are an analysis and supported by the people of the Canal States are an analysis and supported by the people of the Canal States are an analysis and supported by the people of the Canal States are an analysis and the people of the people of the Canal States are an analysis and the people of t that the States accorded to the Federal system. In the States to a constant, and were to act as parties to a constant, and were to act as a parties to a constant, and were to act as a parties to a constant, and were to act as a parties to a constant, and were to act as a parties to a constant, and were to act as a parties to a constant, and were to act as a parties to a constant, and were to act as a parties to a constant of the new term. As for Dr. of a national system, In the New York Constant appeared in her taken part in framents the parties of the first parties of and simple take a ver laws a bare statement of or their step that, if they are charged with dropkeeps you constantly in relind that she is trust-ing to you to insure, that she shall be treated a Yankee trait. Mr. White was surprised to find with respect and tenderness. Mestawhile the diffused all over England and among all classes lets you see that, in her opinion, she owes you | -that, namely of som for our thus, "paound deference, and that it becomes for to be not | to the rate, and "pound" the except of Gorng only as charming, but as serviceable, as possis to look at a tenement which was to let, he was form ber womanhood to your manhood. This prestion how long he should have to want for a charm belongs to the Lundish woman of all train, the answer was, " Nearly a hacur, air, ranks, and benutifies excrything that she does. In England, however, the too has none of that even if she does mawkwardly.

The soft attraction exercised by an English. America and masses it much the mean effective women's manner is helped and heightened by sounds that can be uttered by the human volce.

How Hawker Improved the Hymn,

A curious mistake," sure a correspondent, fact Well the Albert of the area of the ar

"I and domes as with they blessing," "I red d chare as with The bicesing,"

It is a control of Science of an interesting and date.

It is Very Super Serve 1979. The control of all the Very Super Serve 1979. The control of the interest of the super serve the s

FAIR VISIONS OF POETS. Twinkle, Twinkle!

Twinkle, twickle, hear course investigations. Row I wonder at your cornscational Now you glitter in corruption's sky, Then exist but in the gazer's eye.

When a new Administration comes. Loudly beating cavit service drums, Then you haste to show your little light. Just a twinkle on the edge of night

When a new Administration knows How the truth can hart its tomler toes Then at once you vanish from the sight Quenched as quickly as electric light. When the gazer points his telescope,

Full of wonder, partly ind of hope. Then, before he knows what he is at. Some one on the tube has hung his bat. When your faces might be clearly seen. Let not Brady, Typer, now be known Shake not Braine and Garfield on the throne

Call not Dorsey from his needed rest; Buffle but " Dear Hubbell's ' tranquil breast Let not any of your feeble rays Give ton spectroscope of Grant or Hayes! Twinkle, twinkle, Star route trands, so high In the dark sess of corruption's sky Twinkle faintly, fainther, all the while, Till you set, and Biame and Garfield smile

The Old-Fashtoned Bible.

From the Indianapolis Journal. From the Indianopolis Journal.

How dear to my heart are the scenes of my childhood. That now but in memry I said review;

The old meeting house at the edge of the wildwood, The pair lenne, and howes all tethered thereby. The low, sloping root, and the nell in the steenle, The lowsest had came flattering out overhead.

As it solemnly gathered the tool-dearing people. To hear the old findle my grandfather read:

The old-findle of Rube—

The dear-eversed Rube—

The leathern-bound Bible my grandfather read.

The blessed old volume! The face bent above it-The blessed old volume! The face bent above it—
As now I recall it—is grarely severe.
Though the reverent eye that droops downward to love it
Makes grander the text through the lens of a bear.
And, as down his features it trickles and glistens.
The count of the deacon is stilled, and his head
Like a haloed patribreh's came as he listens
To hear the old fible my grandfather read;
The dist-assistend hible—
The dathern-bound Bible—
The leathern-bound Bible my grandfather read.

The leathern-bound Bible my grandfather read.

Ah! who shall look backward with scorn and derision
And scoff the ond book, though it uselessly lies
In the dust of the past, while this newer revision
Loops on or a hous and a house in the skies?

Shall the voice of the Master be stand and riven?

Shall we hear but a tithe of the words lie has said,
When so long he has, istending is used out of heaven
To hear the oil Bible my grandfather read?

The dust-overed Bible—
The deathern-bound Bible—
The leathern-bound Bible my grandfather read.

The Organ.

From the Springfeld Republican.

Now the great owns sounds. Fremulous—while undermeath as the hid footbolds of the earth.
On which, arising, rest, and leaning forth, depend.
All shapes of beguty, grace, and strength; all bues we

All shapes of beauty, grace, and strength; all hoes we know.

Green brades of grass, and warbling birds—childred that gambol and play—the clouds of howen above.

The strong base status, and its pulsations intermit not. Bathing, supporting, merging all the rest—maternity of all the rest;

And with revery instrument in multitudes.

The players playing—all the world's mesocians.

The scient is una and masses, rausing alto atlon,
All massionate heart-charits, serrowth appeals,
The inconstriens were twentities of ages;
And for their solvent action, cartal sown diamason,
Or winds and world and mighty occan waves;
A new composite orchestra—binder of years and climes—
tention framewer.

As of the farthese days the poets tell.

The straint incore, the separation long, but now the world ring daine.

The players induced.

From the Sherrowny Arms.

Saved.

The wind is spent and the gale is past.
And the morting sin shines both at last,
It since an a strip of yellow said.
And a good this is a last, in sight of land, Over her dees and her battered side I reity washes the ching thir; that of the arrange and deedly strike Let a the arrange and deedly strike. A wee fruithing is the one moor waif, A wee rail thing to be seened and safe; But all forgation its hiel alarms. It gayly views in the stranger arms. A sailor backs at the little form—
The a Low craft to have storboard the storm?"
He sails a bit as the behink him haw.
And his thoughts fly back to the long ago. Just such a babe on his young wife's breast, Will belonging fluor's his ewn caressed; With changing timers his own caressed; Just such another-but where is he? Wrecked on the voyage of the, maybe, Is this but spared that in years to come it may drait away from its heavenly home? The babe laughs as his boy once did. Ah! will it be sel. Nay, Get to bid? The sallor's hand has a gentle touch For the sake of the lad he loved so much; And not from his has are the world trut hall; Got bless the claiden-cost keep them all?

A Legend.

From the Loudon Spectator. There went a widow wennin from the outskirts of the Whise beauty serrow might have moved the stones she freed to pity.

She wan leved, weeping through the fields, by God and Still calling on a little child the reaper Death had taken. When he men a day she met a white-rolled train ad-And brightly on their golden heads their golden growns. were glancing.

Child Jesus led a happy band of little ones a maxing, With flower of spring, and game of dew, all images playing. Par from the rest the widow sees, and flies to clasp, her

"With all thee darling that thou must not take with these thy cleasure?" "Oh, mother, little mother mine, behind the rest 1 how heavy with your tears the pitcher I must "If you had ceased to ween for me, when Jesus went anaving, and have been among the blost, with little Josus Entry Preparati

-Mequiem.

From the Springfield Republican.
Then hast lived in pain and week.
Then hast lived in crief and tear.
Now thin bear can decad his blow,
Now little cores can should be bear.
Some little cores can should be bear.
The next should be bear and rake,
The next should be bear and rake. Them for long, long state has been a Beetling theory, being they welcomen, it says a substantial state of the says is a substantial state of the says and the says and the says are substantial state of the says and the says are says as a substantial says a substant We must be weak parameters,

We have the work of the state o

My Name on the Fond.

From the Parishin.
In the severt youth document, the store of Jean,
Why the large significant as the large of Jean,
We Andread the state of the state of the sylving.
And she will be a substitute of the same The street of th The problem of the control of the co From your key we may be the open all the and white hand. We are not under that begin to their the Arms - white hand.

Republicanism (Three Generations).

From St. of the Markly.

There was pair V mana to my sail, As in flower short the fire

Now West, and the second secon

* S = s p or, she tendes, has in attict to through the short on In the condition with an accepted To meet all armis, you when it Manufauer B. Watter

If She Could Only Cook.

From the first in a second fine;

Visit have not interpret in a second statistic;

Visit visit and the second statistic;

As a second s

A setgrace for bounding some Authorizing the leading reg. Pit be wind and bounded to the con-ling much more inselected than he. Fine glean, then differenced exclude some Fine witchers of tone and how, I would have a few more a king. My decading only or and doos, !

THE DOOM OF MIDHAT PASHA

CHAPTERS THAT RECALL THE TALES OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS.

Most Remarkable State Trial-Accused of the Murder of a Sulcidal Sultan-Widan's Arraignment of his Judges-Elequence that Shook a Throne The Sentence of Beath Against an Hourst and Innocent Man.

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 29 .- It is 2 o'clock, Judgment against Midhat Pasha has just been pronounced. He and others were accused of complicity in the alleged assassination of Abdul Aziz. I attended the trial, and heard the arguments. I am versed in the Turkish language. I write on the spur of the moment to set the case rightfully before the American people. I know the facts, and have a thorough knowledge of the case. It has no bottom. It is a most odious plot, concuived by unscrapping men for personal gain. A garged press here has vainly striven to express its opinion. It can say nothing without the sauction of the authorities.

I reside near the Sultan's palace of Helickiesk. on the Bosphorus. The palace is surrounded by a vast park, enclosed by a high wall. Between 6,000 and 8,000 troops are camped in this park. The soldiers occupy barracks near the wall, Midhat was condemned in these broad fleids, The accused were tried in a large open tent, pitched in a little valley back of the palace, which is at least two leagues from Constantinople.

At the request of the Corps Diplomatique the authorities promised that the accused should have a public trial. They agreed to afford every facility for admission to the tent. They began by notifying representatives of the foreign press that seats were reserved for them. This was a compliment, however, fraught with little danger, for very few of these representatives understood the Turkish language. The publicity of the trial was a sham. The granting of tickets was so clogged with conditions that very few could obtain them. Once obtained, admission was more than doubtful. Mr. Heap. the American Consul, sent me a ticket, I was stopped by a sentry forty pages from the wall surrounding the park. I showed my pass. An officer was called, who sent an escort with me to the entrance of the park. There a bin-backi, or Chief of Battalion, thoroughly examined my pass. He turned it over and over, as though in search of a flaw. Three other officers came up. "Where is the duplicate?" one of them asked. I replied that I had received nothing more than I

is the duplicate?" one of them asked. I replied that I had received nothing more than I had presented. I gave him my note of instructions from the Consul, and presented my own card, bearing my name and residence. I was required to rewrite the address, and make a written application for admission, Having filled the blank that was given me, a chief of department was called. He understood French, and was extremely polite. He secutinized Consul Heap's letter. "What is your nationality?" he asked.

"Why, American, of course," I replied, "Don't you see I am from the Consul's letter?" Turning to his comrades he said: "The bearer is an American, and the passport is from the American Consul."

"Very well," said the bin-backi. "You can pass. There is no necessity for a duplicate."

The senior officer courteously eccorted me within the gates. He accommanded me to the tent and apologized because the delay had prevented my obtaining a front sent. There was blenty of room. The tent would have seated 700 or 800 persons. Not more than 150 seates were occupied. At least 100 of those seated were military employees of the palace. Thirty or more pashas and about twenty Europeans composed the romander of the spectators. The tent was open, and about fluty feet long. Its sides were uphed by cortaining the pickets. A strip of green canvas at each extremity denoted the place reserved for the Diplomatic Corps. They were reserved for the public. There were plenty of chairs, but no one occupied them. They were reserved for the Diplomatic Corps. They were agood view was to obtain the services of some venerable winto-bearied packa. They were always of Persia Romannia, and Servia alone gracest the scene by their presence. Dragoman Free Association. There was plenty of chairs, but no one occupied them. They were always of health of the London Tones, the Journal des Délats, and the representatives of the Dragoman Free Association. There was plenty of ellow room. All that was necessary to secure a good view was to obtain the services of the six white as driven snow, was equated of at his left. His small black eyes as sparkle with deceit and malignity. A European type and manners, about old, sat still further to the left. He was short Judge, possibly 80 years old, as on his left. He had a forbidditenance. He looked like an old bird. short Judge, possibly 80 years old, on a sofa on his left. He had a forbidding etenance. He looked like an old bird of He was ever dozing, and whenever he ophis eyes it was to east pittless glances at prisoners. I did not know him, but I will wail I am worth that he was devoid of all for Cristoforides Effond sat on the right of presiding Judge. He is a man of implication, the wore everglassies, and scened 40 years of ages. His brown hair was the sprinkled with gray. He leaned forward though trying to comprehend what was 20 on, and constantly rested his head up in uplitted hand. His classic face was untoughted hand. His classic face was untoughted hand. His classic face was untoughted hand, he classic face was the by the ravages of time. Hours in the him and given him a careworm appearance. I see the general qubits. He was fanke I by assistants. He seemed to be about 35 years at times he cast aside his fee. With the head, in his official robes, he looked like European magistrate, He had a dozen or mer ten fants. He are the chief clerk each occur a glided sofa. A table, covered with affin and indictments, stood before the Judges copy of the Koran lay on a stand at its side. There accused were ranged before the transmissible had hand do content and indictments, stood before the Judges copy of the Koran lay on a stand at its side. There was a row of chairs belind their none of them were allowed to sit down. A dier stood at the side of each trisoner. The guards had hang-dog countenances and we requisive in supearance. Their uniforms we worn and solded, and in some cases torn, colors were so failed that you could be whether they had been groen or blue. The sealers puffed plees filled with the view worn and soled, and in some could not tell colors were so fuled that you could not tell whether they had been green or blue. These solders puffed pipes filed with the viest to have, and atthough the presiding dudge segred amoyer by the funes he made at served used to say the senior 12.

The court opened a interferred 11% t. M. If was nearly 12 before the accused entered between two files of soldiers. The first good for two files are sufficiently flatted and in tuded the wester Musicapa Penicyan. Martiplan Discours and Englishment the accused assessination for a true offeres. He for her, Art Boy, S. o. 1 Vienes President and the considered for the assessing the accused assessination for a true of the assessing the accused assessination for a true first in passes of the considered by a second assessination.

The reality of the securation Suffan Nordal, and her son, the ordered and added the miseased see it felt inner section that it is a tree in we clief in the Paras. The train present and at that it after. Paras it is a state in the Paras it is a state in the Paras it is a wreaters; Musianian the sale at the wreaters; Musianian the sale at the wreaters; Musianian the sale at the west and a body guards to Abdul A. Bey, S. y. Bey, and B. at the west in sale at the assessment in the acceptance of the assessment in the west in sale and the training of that after the development in the sale and the training of the assessment in the sale and a sale at the sale and the training of the services of the acceptance in the process of the acceptance of the services of the acceptance in the process of the acceptance in the services of the acceptance in the services. The three in a month of the acceptance is a constitution, and the acceptance in the services. When the acceptance is a constitution, the services in the acceptance in a service in a fine acceptance on the acceptance in a service in a fine in the services of the acceptance in a service in a fine in the service of the acceptance in a service in a fine in the service of the acceptance in a fine in the service of the acceptance in a service in a fine in the service of the acceptance in a service of services in a fine in the service of the acceptance in a service of services in a fine in the service of the acceptance in a service of the acceptance in a service of services in a service in The deposition specified acts of the ware not because out by the endead were not because in a least the Sudan and Sudana were following to the analysis of a least rm. The Sudana was not can a sacred privilege of wearing by a value and the register of the analysis prisoners were sould be the analysis prisoners were sould be they arrived at the senging. There is not a single in which for a larger in which the day of the arrived in the strength of this suder. Married replacement of the sudana were the back time transferred to the formation of the back time. Here in the back time transferred to the first range of the back time.

mirriere L.

If assessmanton was intended it seems strange that Murrier was already extend a remark. About the was already extend a the chamber of up of the Saran Sec. At the was partie than a sec. At the sec.